/326 cont./

E 175 567 72 Ce 175 648 go in search of metal? The aforesaid Indian answered: "They do not understand that I am only telling them that they can go to the country of the Chané in nine days." While they were speaking with this Indian, the aforesaid Cheroçe, chief of the Chané, was conversing with a woman of his tribe who as a girl had been kidnapped by these Indians whose chief had taken her as his wife. She said that it was correct that from the last houses of the aforesaid Guarani only four days were required to go as far as Ytapua and that from there, according to what Cheroçe claimed, one could go to his country in three days. He knew the way very well, for he had been brought up over there, but up to the present he had had no news of his country. (Relación de Domingo Martinez de Irala, p. 350.)

These facts prove that well before García's adventure the Guarani raided the Chané territory and were already beginning to make slaves of its inhabitants.

E 175 567 72 "When Guarani bands arrived on the slopes of the Andes, each one tried to occupy as strong a position as possible on the most craggy points. From there they began to make pitiless war on the natives of the region, treating them with such cruelty that they spared nobody and made their fodder of the unfortunates they captured. They made themselves so fearsome that numerous villages submitted to them without violence. With the slaves they took to serve them and with all the women by whom they had children they populated these frontiers, each one choosing the region which seemed best to him. These Indians are the ones we call Chiriguana in Peru today; they originate from the Guarani. They never went out from this country, either because of the great hardships and risks of the road or in order to keep in their power this land which they found consonant with their nature and taste. It is indeed very fertile, with large and marvelous valleys which are warm rather than cold; and it is crossed by deep rivers coming from the neighboring province of Charcas. In possession of this land, they made numerous /327/ warlike expeditions in it, ruining the plains to the north, the south, and the east. They killed more than 100,000 Indians. In the beginning they used to eat them in the feasts and drinking bouts which they celebrated, but

E [266] [439]

/327 cont./

they have not done it any more for some years and sell them to the Spanish for the shoddy goods the latter give them in exchange. Indeed, they consider it more profitable to sell them for objects they need than to eat them. Their cupidity is such that there is no year when they do not go out to make war in the plains, with great trouble and at the risk of their lives, solely to procure prisoners. Among these Indians there are some individuals so rich that in addition to clothes of cloth and silk they have silver dishes, a service which costs as much as 500 marcs. Without counting a great number of horses saddled and bridled, with good harnesses, and all kinds of weapons which they owe to the thefts and plundering they do in the course of these unjust and pernicious wars. Up to the present no one has been able to bridle their cruelty or stop the disorder and insolence of these people. They have committed many offenses and lacked respect for the royal Power, taking up arms against Francisco de Toledo, who was viceroy of this kingdom. Besides, they have killed and stolen from the Spanish and have inflicted outrages of all kinds on them, depopulating villages, killing and pillaging the fields and farms of the vassals of His Majesty who live on these frontiers of Tarija, Paspaya, Pilaya, Tomina, and Mizque, and the government of Santa-Cruz de la Sierra." (Díaz de Guzmán, pp. 30-31.)

"The Chiriguana (sic) live near these valleys (Tomina and Lagunilla) in warm mountains covered with trees where horses can scarcely walk. They are not natives of this country but foreigners come from Río de la Plata. The language is the same and does not differ from it in any way... The Indians toward whom they are most hostile inhabit a province behind these mountains, a very flat land lacking water, which is called Llano de Manso or the province of the Chané. These Chané are inoffensive people but of good tendencies, of a more congenial appearance and a better nature than the Chiriguana. The latter have eaten more than 60,000 of them, and I do not believe I am saying very many, for these plains were very heavily populated. At present there are only a few Indians, and as they have no one to defend them, these

/334 cont./

241 The Chiriguano who is getting ready to sow takes care
243 to hoe his field and to rid it of all weeds. For this he uses /335/ a shovel, which I shall describe, in part from Campana
243 (p. 98), not having seen this instrument whole.

241 The shovels (sipe of the Chiriguano, even not so long
412 ago, were entirely of wood, preferably wood of the urundei
[824] (Astronium urundeuva F. Allemao) or of the palm siripa. Although narrower and longer, they resembled those of our bakers. The edges were straight, almost parallel, and only the cutting edge was slightly rounded at the sides. Toward the top they ended in a point, a
[824] kind of embryonic handle, which was lengthened by a stick to which it was attached with ties made of churqui (Nilotica farnesiana), of lianas, or toboroši fibers. The two shovels examined by Campana measured 70 centimeters in length and 15 in width; one of them, however, was less wide at the top than at the bottom by several centimeters (Fig. 2).

Fig. 2. Shovel (sipe) made of wood, without its handle, formerly in use among the Chiriguano (from Campana, Pl. VIII, Fig. 1).

If the Chiriguano have abandoned the ancient wooden shovel, they have nevertheless faithfully kept the long handle to which it was attached and which permitted them to work the soil without having to bend over. A remark of psychological order becomes necessary in this regard. The Chiriguano
[439] could well have acquired in the Syrians' stores, where they are available, shovels already provided with handles and ready to use. If they felt the need to modify the handle and to give it the traditional form, it is because it did not correspond to the movements and position of the body and hands which an age-old tradition had ingrained.

In each human group all manual labor requires certain set gestures to which, to a certain extent, the tools are adapted. This explains the variations these exhibit from country to country and even from tribe to tribe. With regard to this, Professor

/347 cont./

433 224 184 [411] between the roof beams. Once out of this region the ethnographer will have all the difficulties in the world to acquire these weapons for his collections. If they are offered to him, they will be either a few souvenirs of former days kept by an old man or crudely made specimens without any value other than that of a toy or a sport accessory for some rare lover of hunting.

224 411 184 The Indians of the semi-independent valley of Caipipendí are still, in some villages, capable of making a bow and using it. The arrows, which I bought from them in rather large quantity, almost all belonged to a single type and were intended, from what they told me, for killing the yakú (pavo del monte /wild turkey/ (Penelope sp.). They are long reeds armed with two barbed wooden rods (Plate IX, 1). One must not conclude that the yakú, abundant as they may be, represent an appreciable food resource. [433] Besides, hunting is scarcely practiced except by the young men, who do it for fun. [126] The Indian who gave up to me the handsomest lot of these arrows felt some remorse about it; for, as he explained [425] to me, /348/ they belonged to his little boy, who would not fail to cry when he found out that his father had sold them without his consent.

857 868 224 Chiriguano children are even more ardent about shooting with a bow than ours. One can see them run around the village trying to shoot down with little miniature arrows (Plate XII, 2 and 4) the birds which light within their reach. Contrary to what took place formerly, once grown up they will not benefit from the skill they have thus acquired. /Fig. 16 appears here./

223 [126] Some Indians of the Caipipendí valley sold me large bunches of nandu feathers. I could not find out whether they had taken them from birds killed in the region or whether they had been hunting them in the east nearer to the great deserts. That would not have been at all improbable, for nandus are certainly not numerous in this region; in a month's stay I 287 did not see any. These feathers serve for fashioning /Fig. 17 ● 439 appears here/ feather dusters, which the Chiriguano sell in the

[Text continues on p. 91]

/348 cont./

287 439 [484] [435] half-breed villages. For the meager profits which this trade brings them they undertake long trips and even go as far as Sucre, where they are paid two to three pesos for each feather duster.

224 178 231 433. Hunting lost its importance from the day when the Chiriguano began to have cattle. Already about 20 years ago, those who /Plate XII appears here/ /349/ had several sheep, goats, cows, or even chickens did not take the trouble to accompany their comrades into the bush in search of game. What is the use of tiring oneself out running after peccaries for long days and risking getting oneself disemboweled or coming back empty-handed if just by staying home one can treat one's guests with some roast of meat or chicken broth?

231 435 [464] [465] The price of cattle has gone down a good deal these last years, and the Indians no longer need to go to the sugar mills of Argentina in order to come back with a cow or two in recompense for four to five months of hard work. Goats, sheep, and pigs are valued at two to four pesos apiece and it is often

471 231 [435] even a question of "prices for foreigners." A cow currently costs from 25 to 30 pesos, and an economical Indian has the means to acquire several during his life. Little by little, in each village modest herds have been formed, which the Indians care for like treasures. They husband them carefully, like all primitive peoples who raise cattle. They almost never kill their cow, and they sacrifice only rarely a goat or a sheep to their gluttony (1). In showing themselves to be so economical

[262] [178] 1. In former times they used to feel an unconquerable repugnance toward pork, which is dissipating nowadays (Nino, p. 252).

they are not obeying any superstition but simply are afraid to 556 diminish their capital. The wealth of an Indian is gauged by the number of his cows; and, in their Spanish jargon, "vacudo" /vaca, "cow"/ is a synonym for rich (2). Some of them have a

2. An Indian of Ñawirenda had as many as 40 head of cattle.

[Text Continues on p. 93]

/351/
226 /Figs. 19-22 appear here/ /352/ Chiriguano attach them to the
[227] end of long cords. A spear with one or two points serves to
harpoon the enormous surubú which pass within their reach
[481] (Fig. 21). It goes without saying that the Chiriguano are
262 marvelous swimmers.
439 The Chiriguano like fish (1). If they live far from the

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1. The skill of the Chiriguano at fishing had already attracted the attention of the ancient chroniclers. Acosta (Vol. I, p. 236) reports that he had a chance to see them handle the spear, a specimen of which is reproduced here in Figure 21. "Some Chiriguanas plunged under the water and, swimming with admirable speed, followed the fish, and with some fish spears, or harpoons, which they carried in the right hand, swimming only with the left, they struck the fish; and, spearing it thus, they came up, so that they certainly seemed to be more fish than men of the land." /Translated from the Spanish./

Rosen (1, Fig. 215, p. 213) represents a Chiriguano holding one of these two-pointed spears in his hand.

262 Pilcomayo and cannot get any directly, they buy it from the
439 Toba or the Matako, who are good fishermen and in addition have the advantage of living on the very banks of the lower Pilcomayo.

[482] In the dry season one can see near Pilcomayo a continual coming and going of Chiriguano, bent under the weight of their
[484] nets full of ears of corn that they are going to barter for fresh or dried fish. They would not hesitate, it appears, to travel 150 kilometers to feast on it (Nino, p. 251).

1: Métraux--140 E-5 (1929) 1930 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Choroti SK6
Araucanians S64
Tupi-Guarani SL6

/377/

## Wooden Bowls and Basins

C 415 191 ● 439 The Chiriguano also use wooden bowls (Fig. 49). I do not know whether they make them themselves or receive them from the half-breeds of the /Fig. 48 appears here/ San Luis region. In this latter case the Chiriguano of the San Luis (Entre-Rios) region would be the only ones to make them. In Tarija /Figs. 49-50 appear here./ where these bowls are much sought after by the half-breeds, they were indicated to me as coming from that zone. The rare wooden bowls which /378/ I saw at Caipipendí had been bought by the Chiriguano in the course of their trips. The same origin must be attributed to the wooden troughs found among the Chiriguano who live near the Quichua half-breeds of Tarija department. These basins are used for washing food and also as bathtubs. Ci 415 197 The Choroti have wooden dishes (Nordenskiöld, 9, Fig. 20, p. 88) which have a shape very similar to that of the trough reproduced here (Fig. 50) and which doubtless were introduced among them either by the ancient Quichua or by the half-breeds. A 415 191 Among the Araucan of Argentina wooden basins are found, which are similar in every detail to those of the Indians and half-breeds of Bolivia and the specimen pictured here.

## Chapter V

## Tools of the Chiriguano

C 412 198 [197] The work tools the Chiriguano use nowadays are almost all of European manufacture. Here and there the ancient forms were kept when stone or bone were replaced by iron. Witness the adze of Plate XXII /see p.143 / which constitutes a curious survival of the eared or T-shaped ax certainly adopted by the Chiriguano after their migration and their establishment at the foot of the Andes. T-G [412] [184] This type of ax is unknown to me from any other Tupi-Guarani tribe and is rare in the area occupied by the different nations belonging to this linguistic family (see Rivet, 1, pp. 149-155).

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Fig. 53. Mold for making tin labrets (tembetayapua). Prov.: Yumbía. (1/3 nat. size.)

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Mold for Tembetas

The tembeta, or labrets, of the Chiriguano are of tin. They make them themselves with the aid of the mold pictured here (Fig. 53). It is a calabash into which the fins of the labret have been hollowed out, while the thicker central part of the ornament corresponds to the end of a stick going through the calabash. The cavity produced in the central part of the labret is then filled with wax into which glass or turquoise beads are incrusted. These come from ancient burial-places and are sold to the Chiriguano by the half-breeds of Tarija.

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Balances

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The Chiriguano of the upper Pilcomayo and the Igüembé valley prize coca quite as much as the Quichua of the altiplano. Besides, it is from them that they got this vice. The fact is known and does not need to be demonstrated. This custom

276 /380 cont./
179 spread among the Chiriguano recently for it has not yet spread
171 throughout the territory they inhabit. The Chiriguano who live far removed from the half-breed or Indian populations of the Cordillera are not "coqueros," and only rarely does one meet among them some old man who accepts a quid of coca.

276 Ivu is the last point toward the east and north where I
171 could distribute my supply of coca to advantage. Nordenskiöld
302 (10, pp. 85-91) sought to demonstrate that the custom of
114 blackening the teeth went along cheek by jowl with that of chewing coca and derived from it. As a matter of fact, this habit has a very marked western distribution and follows the zone of coca cultivation.

276 The Chiriguano mix each quid of coca with the ashes
[824] reaped from a tree (ulala) whose scientific name I do not know. These ashes (tanimbo), which corresponds to the llicta of the Quichua, are contained in a small leather bag.

276 Coca is a luxury commodity which the Quichua Indians
439 or half-breeds come to sell to the Chiriguano. To avoid all
804 argument and all fraud on the part of unscrupulous sellers, the Chiriguano have recourse to balances of their own making. They fabricate them with /381/ two calabashes cut in half to serve as scales (Figs. 54 and 55). The balance with scales was in
[179] use in pre-Hispanic times /Fig. 54 appears here/ in the ancient Inca Empire (see Nordenskiöld, 16) and so I believed at first that among the Chiriguano it represented a survival of /Fig. 55 appears here/ the Andean influence, whose importance we shall see further on. Among the Chiriguano, however, this object is designated by the Spanish name /382/ mbalanza, which seems to indicate that they borrowed it from the half-breeds. The latter and the Quichua use them in their commercial transactions, but especially for weighing the precious coca. Perhaps it was the same in prehistoric times. There is nothing to prove that only metals were weighed, as has been supposed with respect to these ancient scales.

804 For weights the Chiriguano use old Bolivian silver coins
177 and express measures according to the old Spanish system. By a tacit convention a coin worth two modern sous is the equivalent of one ounce.

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804 The Chiriguano measure the cloth which Syrian peddlers
439 come to offer them with varas, that is, a stick about 80 centi-
[177] meters long, the length of the ancient Spanish vara. This instrument has been borrowed from the Bolivian half-breeds.

## Chapter VI

121 ## Art among the Chiriguano and Chané Indians

To Professor Félix F. Outes.

The artistic sense of the Chiriguano is manifested in pottery decoration, pyrography, and wood carving.

We shall study these three activities one after the other.

### Pottery Technique

114 The Chiriguano pottery technique has been studied briefly
323 by Campana (p. 54), following Father Giannechini's notes, and by Outes (3, pp. 122-123), who adds some details communicated to him by the naturalist Holmberg to the ones he took from Campana's work. Nordenskiöld (1 and 10, pp. 142-147) completed on many points Campana's brief survey, so that I myself shall have few new things to note.

317 The clay used by Chiriguano potters comes from beds
323 well known to the Indians, where they go from time to time to lay in fresh supplies. It is enough to see old vessels full of earth around a hut to know that a woman lives there still
[439] practicing the ancestral industry. Where adequate clay is lacking, pottery is imported. Thus in the Tigüipa mission all the vessels in use were made in Macharetí.

323 In order to be used the clay must be degreased with powder /383/ coming from potsherds. Fragments of old vessels are ground in a mortar until, after being put through a sieve, they give a fine powder which is kneaded for a rather

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Fig. 65. Fabrication of a large vat: the potter impresses her thumbnail into the still soft clay to obtain a regular design.

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In some villages there are no more potters. The inhabitants of the toldería of Ibopeytí, for example, have to import the painted vessels they need to celebrate festivals. When I wanted to acquire them, it was generally objected that they had been bought and often at a very high price. "You go away and leave us without vessels," they often used to say to me as a half-joking, half-sad good-by after my raids.

1: Métraux--168 E-5 (1929) 1930 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8
Omaguaca SI9

C /396 cont./
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In former times when artists were not lacking, the number of motifs used within each group must have been larger, and in this variety was doubtless found many an element which today seems to have disappeared, only to be met in another zone. It is probable that an ethnographer who might have made a collection among the Chiriguano a century ago would have established a classification other than the one I have tried to outline here.

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## Comparative Study of the Basic Elements of the Painted Pottery of the Chiriguano and Chané Indians

### 1. The Problem of the Chincha Atacama Civilization

The pottery of the Chiriguano and Chané Indians shows such strong affinities with that of the ancient Andean populations from the point of view of form as well as decoration that their relationship cannot be doubted.

These analogies are especially striking among certain pieces /397/ of pottery dug up in the Quebrada de Humahuaca and the ones still made by Chiriguano or Chané women. With an interval of four centuries the resemblance between the pottery of these two regions is still so pronounced that it had attracted the attention of Mr. Debenedetti (2, pp. 134, 149, note 1, and 156), even though he apparently had for his whole basis of comparison only a few rare pieces of very simple Chiriguano pottery collected in the Chaco and of such uncertain provenance that one of them was attributed to the Choroti. The latter in reality, have pottery of an entirely different type, although also influenced by the Andean civilization.

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The affinities of Chiriguano pottery with certain pottery of the Quebrada de Humahuaca have been scientifically established by Nordenskiöld (10, p. 143). This scholar explains these surprising similarities very naturally by the influence the Indians of the Humahuaca region had on their immediate neighbors, the Chané or Chiriguano, and by the trade relations these peoples maintained.

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acted as masters and lords of the land, even to collecting a tax from the Chicha Indians. If they did not agree to this, they ate them and even 'had public meat markets for human flesh.' " /Translated from the Spanish./

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Chicha women certainly shared the fate of the Chané women reduced to slavery by the bellicose Chiriguano and, like them, brought the secrets of their civilization to their masters. On the upper Pilcomayo I acquired a vessel (Plate XXV), a Panpipe (Fig. 67), and a T-shaped ax (Plate XXIII, 1), found not far from the village of Ibopeytí, well within Chiriguano country. These objects reveal either the existence in this place of an ancient Andean population, Chicha or some other one, which the Chiriguano may have annihilated or assimilated, or active commercial exchanges. In the absence of concrete evidence, the influence of the neighboring Andean tribes would have been demonstrated by the very style of the pottery of this region, which more than that of any other point in Chiriguano territory continues a tradition peculiar to the peoples of southern Bolivia.

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Even today the Chiriguano receive from the half-breed descendants of the Chicha silver objects which probably used to be the object of an age-old traffic, and turquoise beads the latter unearth from the /Plate XXV appears here/ /399/ graves of their ancestors. On their part the Chiriguano go to sell ostrich plumes and pieces of basketry to the half-breeds and Quichua Indians.

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Southern Bolivia is very little known from an archeological point of view. The few excavations which have been carried out there testify that the culture peculiar to the Humahuaca valley continues without appreciable modification. The homogeneity of the civilization which flourished in these vast regions will be even more apparent on the day when the decision is made to undertake the systematic study of this immense territory which includes all the altiplano to the north of the Argentinian frontier and the valleys which form the spurs
ooo of the Andes at the edge of the Chaco. It is already evident

[Text continues on P. 173]

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286 171 The Chiriguano have their loom in common with many tribes of tropical America, and they doubtless were already acquainted with it in Paraguay, at least in a more rudimentary form. In some Chiriguano villages looms of the Inca or Quichua /Quechua/ type, that is to say, horizontal ones, can be seen. The warp is then fastened to a small cord along a piece of wood and the cloth is rolled around as it is produced.

286 294 Headbands and belts are woven with looms of a type similar to the one just described. The warp threads are fastened to a loop of cotton attached to a hut post. As the fabric is made it is rolled around two small sticks or two ears of corn attached to the lower end of the warp (for this type of loom, see Nordenskiöld, 10, Fig. 4, p. 175).

29 30 I am reproducing in Fig. 95 a tsumbi headband. These ornaments have now become very rare, and only a few old men still wear them. Our specimen is dyed with natural colors.

291 [178] Every Indian woman who lives outside the influence of the missions still wears the tipoy, that is, a kind of long sheath which they fasten on the shoulder nowadays with a safety pin and formerly [286] /Plate LXXII appears here/ /435/ with a thorn. In olden times these tipoy were woven by the Indian women on looms of the Arawak type. They were of cotton and dyed blue-black. /Fig. [439] 90 appears here./ Today it is almost impossible to find a woman whose tipoy is not made of chamalote, a kind of cheap cotton cloth which the Syrians and half-breeds sell at a high price to our Indians. In the Caipipendí valley /Fig. 91 appears here/ I met two old women who still kept the tipoy of olden times. They would not [126] give it up to me for any price. At Carurutí, an old fellow desirous of striking a good bargain sold me his wife's at a very /436/ high price in order to buy brandy for himself. It was very necessary to celebrate Easter fittingly.

[178] The shirts (tiru-kumbaè) which the men formerly sported exist no more except in the memory of the old men.

[See p. 278--Analyst]

G4 285 482 [824] /439 cont./ p. 171 and Map 21). Their baskets being in bad shape, the Guarayú wanted to make some new ones and were very annoyed not to find in the region into which they had come the palm trees with pinnate leaves which they were in the habit of using for this purpose. Now, Guarayú and Chiriguano are brothers in race and language and emigrated at the same period from Paraguay to settle in the vicinity of the Andes. When leaving their country of origin, both were acquainted with this type of basket used by their ancestors, the Guarani, the Tupinamba of the Brazilian coast, /440/ and still favored among their first cousins from Paraguay, the Kainguá (Métraux, 2, p. 206). The disappearance of this cultural element among the Chiriguano is due solely to the lack of appropriate raw materials.

C G4 285 482 174 824 [144] [197]

C 177 482 In order to make up for the absence of back baskets, indispensable to a farming people /Fig. 98 appears here/ the Chiriguano borrowed from their neighbors in the Chaco, either the Mataco or the Choroti, the carrying nets (in Chiriguano: añapoka) whose use is so widespread among the latter and is so characteristic of their civilization. Carrying nets today are in general use among the Chiriguano, and in every village each family has at /Fig. 99 appears here/ least one (Figs. 98 and 99). In spite of this wide diffusion, the Chiriguano añapoka betrays its origin by its form and technique (see Figs. 100 and 101 /see pp. 283 -285/), which are both found in the tribes we have just enumerated (Nordenskiöld, 9, p. 208, Technique I). Although considerably more advanced on the way to civilization than the seminomadic tribes of the Chaco, the Chiriguano do not by any means equal them /441/ in the art of making nets. The añapoka I collected cannot be compared with the deep bags which the Matako or the Choroti, for example, make for the same purpose. In the village of Machareti, where Toba live with Chiriguano, it is the former who furnish the latter with the /Fig. 100 appears here/ carrying nets they need (see Fig. 99 /see p. 282/) (1).

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C [286]

C [563] [439]

C 286 482 171 1. Nordenskiöld (10, p. 163, Fig. 49 A) gives the detail of the technique of a Chiriguano carrying net. This technique is not found on any

[Text continues on p. 283]

2:Métraux E-5 (1929) 1948 SF10 Chiriguano SF10



*Chiriguano* women still dress in tipoys, a long, necklike garment, fastened on both shoulders with thorns or sometimes with luxurious silver pins (pl. 42, *right*). Some tipoys (tiru) are so long that they need to be folded. 291

Anciently, *Chiriguano* men shaved their foreheads, as did the *Guaraní* of Paraguay. At a later period, men and women wore their hair long and carefully groomed it with combs. These were artistically carved from a single piece of wood; some of them were cut into the shape of animals. Men wrapped their hair around the head and kept it in place with a headband. 302 412

Women part their hair in the middle and tie it over the neck with a tasseled fillet, or with a ribbon across the forehead.

**Body painting.**—Both sexes formerly painted their faces and their bodies with urucú. In more recent times, women were content to smear their cheeks with urucú before taking part in a feast. Men stained their teeth black with a special grass. 302 178

**Ornaments.**—The distinctive ornament of the *Chiriguano*, even in modern times, is a tin labret studded with turquoise fragments (pl. 43; fig. 59, *e*). Originally, labrets were made of rosin, as were those of the *Guaraní* of Paraguay. Wooden labrets or a piece of reed inserted in the lower lip remains common among children and also among men too poor to acquire a metal labret. Some of the round tin labrets are more than an inch in diameter without including the flanges which hold them on the inside of the lower lip. 301 178

Feather ornaments almost disappeared after the migration and were replaced by typical Andean woven frontlets studded with metal plates. Men hung elongated silver plates from their necks; these ornaments probably originated from small metal tweezers worn in the same fashion (fig. 59, *a*). The most valued necklaces are composed of turquoise or chrysocolla beads which are traded from the Mestizos of Tarija or taken from the sepulchers of the people who preceded the *Chiriguano* in their habitat. Ordinary necklaces were once strung with shells or seeds, but now consist of glass beads. 301 177 [439]

**Miscellaneous.**—The *Chiriguano* have the deserved reputation of being among the cleanest Indians of South America. Men and women bathe several times a day, washing themselves with crushed fruits containing saponin. Soap is in great demand throughout *Chiriguano* territory. 515 824

Men depilated their faces and bodies with metal tweezers. 302

### TRANSPORTATION

**Boats.**—The rivers in *Chiriguano* territory are not suitable for navigation; the only watercraft are crude rafts used to cross the Pilcomayo River. 501

824 /16 cont./
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[14] I am going to make a brief list of some trees and plants which I know, without pretending to be a botanist, a subject I have not studied. I shall only say that I have learned it through experience and careful reading; when describing certain plants, I shall also make note of the use made of the bark, root, leaves, and branches of some.

ACACIA BALSAMICA. -- This is the quina-quina, under which name it is known here in Chiriguano country, a tall, straight tree, whose wood is ideal for building because the wood borer does not damage it; it is much used here in the construction of upper roofs, especially for the braches or trusses on which the roof frame is to rest. It is plentiful in Cordillera Province and even in Acero Province.

/17/ ACACIA SAPONARIA. -- This tree is large and its
[342] wood light, perhaps even lighter than cedar, but it is of less
[492] value; it is whitish and much used for making doors and windows, but the main use to which said wood is put is in saddleries to
[296] make pads for saddles. The seeds are similar to monkey ears
[515] and are good for washing clothes and to keep the skin of the face free of blemishes; here it is known by the name "timboy."

ACACIA AMARILLA /A. moniliformi/. -- It is a medium-sized tree of rather lightweight hardwood, for which reason drawers or wash basins and yokes for oxen are made with it.
[372] It is no good for making fire, because it smells when it burns, from which it gets the Chiriguano name "Tatane," fire that smells; the wood is yellow.

ACACIA ASTRINGENTE. -- There are many groves of
[342] trees of this class here and there; it is the most abundant tree,
[281] the wood is good for small joists because the wood borer does not eat it; the bark contains much tannin, and it is the wood most used for tanning hides by both Indians and whites; the latter call it sebil and the former "Curupau."

245 ACHIOTE. BIXA ORELLANA. -- This is cultivated in
137 fields and gardens, grows to a height of two and a half meters,
324 its leaves are dark green; it produces abundant fruit in a sort of pod covered with bristles and filled inside with fiery red seeds, which are what makes the little tree highly valued. They
[302] serve as food coloring, and the Chiriguano paint their faces
[303]
[439]

/17 cont./
245 137 824 [302] [303] [439]
and feet with them, as will be seen; for this last purpose it is prepared beforehand, many pods being boiled in an olla, and pastes of every size are made from the decoction, depending on the value that they wish them to have; it is traded by Chiriguanos and whites.

137 824
The Bixa orellana, or "Urucu," as the Indians call it, is a plant of high value for the Chiriguano; he will travel far to obtain a small amount in the towns or places where it is prepared.

ALGARROBO. -- The place where this extraordinarily large tree abounds is in the pampas; thus in the plain of "Curuyuqui" of Yvu Mission, Isoso, Parapiti, and the Gran Chaco it is found forming forests. It is very bulky and has [342] [415] long branches which on some touch the ground; its trunk is thick and not always erect, the wood is excellent, similar to oak in spite of being dark, and it is much used for making tuns, door and window casings, and even for barrels. In [262] [273] Chiriguano this tree is called /18/ "Ivopei," and the "Ivope" pod is long, compressed, and yellow; when it is ripe, it is sweet and much sought after by livestock and by the Chiriguano; it is their food and drink in times of scarcity as well as other times, and the mead that they make is extremely intoxicating. On the bank of the Pilcomayo even the whites eat this pod; the Toba, Choroti, Mataco, and others hold their orgies when the algarrobo ripens.

ALGARROBO CHICO. -- This is a smaller tree than the previous one, even its fruit is smaller, speckled in color, and sweeter than the true algarrobo, but not as abundant as the [262] first. As the pods are small and the seeds within abundant, it is not highly thought of among the Chiriguano; they only eat it out of necessity or as a tidbit; the wood is not valued very highly because undoubtedly there are others that are better. In Chiriguano it is called "Ivope rai."

ALGARROBO AGRIO. -- This is also small, and it is called [262] "sour" because the flavor of the pods really is sour. In times of scarcity it is also food for the Chiriguano; the pods are small, and the tree has its congenial sites. The Chiriguano Indians call it "Ivopetayi."

/21 cont./

137 824 [245] GUAYABO /guava/. -- This fruit-bearing tree is found wild and cultivated; it is of medium size, and the fruit, when ripe, is yellow on the outside and purple on the inside, and its bittersweet flavor is very pleasant and laxative. The green fruit and the roots are astringent; the Chiriguano know it by the same name. The wood has no use at all, and even if it [262] did, the Indians would not use it because it produces edible fruit. They regret it when any of these trees and others, like the algarrobo, are destroyed.

GÜEMBE. -- This plant thrives on the trunks of high trees, where it puts its root, and others which penetrate the ground [492] hang down from there. The roots and lianas are dark in color; very strong and durable halters are made from its bark; it is not found everywhere. One encounters it from the left bank of the Parapiti River; its fruit is similar to that of maize, for which reason it is called maize of the air, and it is edible.

HIGUERA AMERICANA /American fig/. -- This is the [262] guapoy of the Chiriguano and the bibosi of the populace; although the fruit is rather sour, it is edible. Bats like it, and it [757] is annoying to have this tree near the dwellings; it has a milky juice like the common fig tree, which, applied to wounds, [245] heals them. In addition to the above fig tree, there is the [439] common one which flourishes with very little care, in the towns, especially the Mission ones; it is widely cultivated by the [431] natives and its fruit is used by them for gifts and trade with the whites.

244 MANDIOCA. -- This plant is called "Mandio" or "Mandiporopi" by the Chiriguano Indians. A little book written by a Jesuit missionary of the old Paraguay missions relates that this plant was left to those Indians by Saint Thomas the Apostle who, according to their tradition, came here to preach the doctrine of the Redeemer. Mandioca is [252] an excellent food and very digestible; it is eaten boiled, [262] roasted, and fried in lard. It is a plant cultivated by whites and by Indians.

/23 cont./ some trees are covered with long
[138] [824] sharp points and others are not, only having an occasional im-
[435] perceptible sharp point: the fruit of both is pleasant and serves
[431] for gifts and trade for the Indian, who sells it to the whites,
[448] the ones who, rushing to get rich more quickly and easily, are little concerned about the nopal and the fig tree. In Chiriguano it is called "Saini."

PALM or PALMER. -- The palm tree has congenial places, where immense forests are formed and sometimes grow all around a lake like a great garland: it is a very tall and smooth tree without a single branch. Its leaves are in the form of a
[436] fan and are used to make hats and for sieves, which are sold
[342] for 30 or 40 centavos apiece. The wood is good for joists in houses, and it is also split into shingles for roofs and is quite durable, if the precaution is taken of cutting them after the full moon. In Chiriguano it is called "Carandai," and the place which they occupy, "Carandaiti," palm grove.

PALMA CHRISTI. -- A not very durable plant, it grows to a height of four meters, has a soft, hollow trunk, large leaves, /24/ and flowers in the form of a bunch of grapes. The seeds are found inside little burs, like chestnuts; said burs in some plants open by themselves in the warmth of the sun, while others must be opened or carefully broken with a little hammer or a stone. The name indicates that it is a beautiful plant, but this beauty is in the broad, abundant petiolate leaves. There are several types with reference to
[757] size and quality of seeds: I know five kinds. Castor oil is
[302] extracted from this plant or from its seeds for use as medicine; we use it in the missions to fuel the lamp of the Blessed Sacrament, and the Chiriguanos mix it with "Achiote" seeds and put the resulting cosmetic on their faces and on their calves down to the feet. In Chiriguano the plant is called "Cauiro," and the oil, "Yandi." Even the leaves of the
[959] palma Christi are medicinal, some being hot and others cool: thus when headache is a result of overexposure to the sun, the leaves of the white spurge are applied; if, on the other hand, it is the result of high humidity, the leaves of the red spurge are applied. The seeds of the dark purple spurge are very small, but contain more oil than others.

[1] [i.e. nopal tree. -Arnold]

/40 cont./

224 animal is capable of distinguishing between the brave and
*[225] the cowardly, and the latter is the first to be attacked and consequently to be badly injured.

*[225] Jaguar skin, as I have already said, has intrinsic value: it is used in saddleries for the bottom padding of saddles and for saddlebags: it is a luxury for persons of rank. The animal has a quantity of fat, and this is a good remedy for rheumatism, aching bones, and other ailments: the Indians take it and sell it in the interior of the Republic and trade it for used clothing. It is to be noted, however, that they do falsify it, as they also falsify snake grease, because it can be understood that the killing of this ferocious animal is not a frequent thing. Rarely does the Chiriguano hunt the jaguar, and he is not always inclined to help the white man, but the latter forces his people to do so, and they gather the fat and sell or present it to their friends or relatives. Jaguar meat is good food, although, to be sure, it smells wild, as does the skin, but this meat, if placed in salt water or brine overnight, loses its bad smell: they assert that this meat is like that of a cow.

*[225] *[226] 559 [261] [259] [259]

[262]

[262]

*136 The male jaguar is quite large. I measured one, and it was two meters long from the tail, one meter high, and it weighed seven arrobas. The female is smaller: I measured one that had just been killed: from the tail it measured one meter and ten centimeters, was 75 centimeters high, and weighed four and a half arrobas. The female gives birth every three years, and the newborn cubs are always a pair, one male and one female: the mother is most dangerous when she has young /illustration appears here/ /41/ and defends them at any cost, but hunters first kill the mother and then try to catch the cubs alive: they almost always succeed and take them home to domesticate them, but this is an impossible job because they are jaguars forever: I have seen two of these cubs well chained but very bad. In general, cubs when taken away from their mother die in a few days either through lack of adequate food, which is milk, or also out of desperation upon finding themselves in the midst of beings foreign to their nature.

[231]

/52 cont./

*136 *825 uprising, should this pair of owls start to sing on occasion in a town or near the house of some whites. The second is called "Surumucucu," because its cry sounds like this. Neither of the two is harmful. They are plentiful where there are trees; the first eats bats, toads, and mice, for which reason it is not attractive to the Chiriguano, but it is a very [823] [262] pretty bird, and its feathers are like the finest velvet. The second is good food for the Indians, who hunt it on bright moonlit nights.

CARDINAL. -- A little bird the size of a swallow, with a red crest, ash-gray feathers, and a white breast. The region of the cardinals begins in Parapiti Grande; occasionally a pair of them appear in some part of Yvu, and there are also some in the countryside of Carandaiti. I have seen them in both places, as I have also seen flocks of 15 to 20 in Parapiti. It has no peculiarity other than its crest and its song at certain times of the day. The Chiriguano Indians of Parapiti and some • [839] Tapii of Izozo try to catch this little bird alive and take it to the interior of the Republic, to Sucre or Potosí, to sell or trade it /53/ for used clothing; in this sense it is a small, lucrative business.

*136 *[825] CARPINTERO or PICAMADEROS /woodpeckers/. -- This is a black bird with a fiery red crest, and it is called "Arapatuare" in Chiriguano. When it flies away in fright, it makes a loud noise with its wings, is fast, and flies in a straight line. It is the continual desire of this little creature the size of a rondón to clamber tirelessly about dry and hollow trees, beating on them with its hard beak in order to make come out and to eat the insects that they contain. Sometimes the traveler, upon hearing these noises in the woods, believes that someone is cutting firewood and doing carpentry, or is inclined to believe, from the prolonged rattling of a hollow, dry tree being struck by the woodpeckers, that it is about to fall, if he does not know that it is being pecked by this little bird. Both of these things have happened to me on occasion. [823] The Chiriguano does not waste time hunting the woodpecker, because it is a semisolitary bird, and scarcely three or four [859] are found together in one place. Only the children hunt them for fun and in order to learn to be accurate in the handling of bow and arrow.

/59 cont./

*136 MATICO. -- This is a very pretty little bird with three colors: yellow, red, and black. The first color predominates. It is easily tamed, but its song is not varied. It is amusing to put it in front of a mirror, especially if it is a male. It will ruffle up, sing vigorously, and charge at its reflected figure, believing it to be its competitor. As far as the right bank of the Parapiti River, beyond the last ridge of the Andes, which is called Aguaragüe, not a single one is seen. They begin to be seen on the left bank precisely at the San Francisco Mission. The San Antonio del Parapiti Mission, located on the same bank, is scarcely 5,490 meters away from the San Francisco one, and nevertheless nobody sees a matico around it. Either it cannot find adequate food there, or the cold of the mornings may be felt more because the mountains are very close. The Chiriguano and Tapii catch the matico alive and take it far away to sell it. [223] [439]

MIRLO /blackbird/. -- This type of bird is not numerous in the region nor is it found everywhere. It likes to stay where there are streams of water so that it can sing to its satisfaction. It is shiny black and somewhat large. It sings strongly and very well after the sun rises and before this heavenly body sets. The clear, loud song of this bird, which can be heard at a great distance, is a delight to the traveler. The whites call it chivango.

MURCIÉLAGO /bat/. -- Bats are abundant in the hot season and are very repugnant; they establish their domain in certain buildings with a straw roof or in a similar place, dirtying everything with their droppings and causing true loathing. Churches which have paneled ceilings and which have no screens or gratings in their windows are full of these repugnant animals, and wherever they dwell there is little cleanness. At night they bite every kind of animal and even a sleeping man. There are two types of them, one small and the other large.

*136 [857] /62 cont./ It is only hunted by children, for whom every little bird is a joy and a pleasure.

There is also a species of oropeńdola /oriole/, which makes a very funny nest, conical like a globe, with the wide part open toward the top; it hangs it from tree branches by means of long, slender threads. Sometimes there are many nests in a single tree. Neither vipers nor another, large bird can do any damage in such a shelter.

TORDO /thrush/. -- Thrushes are innumerable everywhere from Monteagudo eastward. They fly in flocks. The males are completely black, blacker than writing ink, and the females a kind of tan. They cause incalculable damage in newly planted fields, scratching up and eating the seeds very dexterously. At the time of sprouting they pull up the tender plant of maize, wheat, barley, and rice; consequently they are a true plague, and the moment the farmer is careless, he will harvest only wind for his labor. Their flesh is good, but the Indians only hunt them because of the damage they do. The thrush, like no other bird, takes singular pleasure in following the cattle grazing tranquilly in the field, and some readers will be able to understand the object and purpose of this singularity.

*[825] This type of thrush, called "Choronchíu" in Chiriguano, sings little and has less grace in its song. But there is another class of thrush which is quite amusing. It is found about nine or ten leagues south of Santa Cruz de la Sierra; it is also black, and the female is black as well. It is frequently domesticated and sings with variety and strength. This little animal is a precious thing and an enchanting one. Nevertheless, in the domestic state every small thing which it finds it comically carries off with its beak and hides; it could well be pounds sterling or quintos. It loves its master and abhors strangers, ruffling itself up and pecking furiously.

• 439 [435] [171] A thrush of this second species is worth something more than five bolivianos or duros in Santa Cruz, and in Salta or Tucumán it is worth up to 30 nacionales. There are Indians in Parapití and others who /63/ trade in thrushes. They catch

/63 cont./

• 439 171 them in the area around the place called Basilio, and they take them in cages to the Argentine Republic.

* 136 TOUCAN. -- A very unusual bird because of its long beak, which is almost as long as its body. This beak is yellow, red, and black, but very light; otherwise, since it is so large, it would be difficult to hold up. One who for the * [825] first time sees a toucan, called "Tunca" in Chiriguano, thinks that it is carrying an ear of maize in its beak. Toucans go in large flocks and have their favorite places; I know only [757] one variety of them. It is said that the beak, when ground up * [825] and taken in water, stops the flow of blood. It seems that the toucan only lives in hot climates. If it is taken to other places, it dies.

URRACA /magpie/. -- This flying creature is rather large and abundant. There are several species of them, [231] differentiated by their plumage. It is easily domesticated, and it is useful in the houses, because it kills all of the bugs or insects which multiply in them, but its size is no larger than that of the toucan. It is as restless and noisy in the houses as it is in the woods.

121 I here put an end to this brief description of the land inhabited by the Chiriguano and what is contained therein. All will understand that I did not attempt to discover and describe minutely each and every one of the plants, each and every one of the quadrupeds, amphibians, and insects, each and every one of the birds, but only those which seemed to me to be of the most importance. If it seems to my readers to be too much, or too little, they will be so kind as to excuse my faults; meanwhile, I am going to begin the real ethnography, which will be somewhat long so that it may be clearer and more pleasant. /64/ /Illustration appears here./

/180 cont./

352 The peculiarity of the Chiriguano cots is that they are almost always shorter than the persons who must sleep on it; most of them measure one meter 60 centimeters. They perhaps have [513] this peculiarity because they sleep curled up like pigs in order to hold together better the little clothing or blankets that they [178] possess. Today they are beginning to make them longer and [237] to have cots like the whites use; the open part of the latter is closed with cowhides which they attach first lengthwise and then at the sides, equidistantly about every seven or eight centimeters, with many small squares being the result (1).

1. The cots which are made with split agave sticks are soft and preferred; in the Ivu Mission almost all make them of this material.

574 The Chiriguano man does not like to sit on the ground either;
576 when he is visiting, it would be an insult to make a man sit on
516 the ground; nevertheless for a gathering of friends they do sit
352 down where they wish and stretch out like dogs in the sun. For
322 the reception of visitors they have crude seats. They are of
[574] wood and called Apica. There are some with two places and up to four with their respective dividers; there are some for [412] men and even for children. They are of a single piece, and they are made by dint of much patience by hollowing them out with an ax. The tree should be a thick one so that the seat may have a little height and the occupant may not cut a ridiculous figure of a punchinello or clown, causing laughter [438] among the onlookers. They also use benches and chairs like [439] those of the whites; they make the latter for their own use [824] and to sell to their fellows and to the whites. The wood which they seek out for these labors is zacharrosa, because it is soft and easily worked with the tools that are available to the poor Chiriguano, who does not always have an adze and a chisel.
352 Some people also have /181/ hammocks, Quiha ó inni, but they are so old and black because of the action of the smoke that they arouse disgust (1).

524 1. For a children's game they hang in the

/231 cont./

304 881 [824] Meanwhile the one who performed the operation now gives final admonishments to the boy, and he, following all of these instructions and those of his father, keeps the little tube in continual motion so that it will not stick to the flesh, and on the days that follow he begins to put around it little twigs /232/ from the bush called Yacurimbíu, food of the turkeys. When it has healed, he will cut a larger stick from the same bush and put it in alone, removing the tembetandi, and continue enlarging the hole this way little by little until he can put in a tembeta of hollow cane, which also goes on taking on larger dimensions until it seems big enough. Then he buys a de luxe tembeta and he puts it in, never to remove it again, either day or night, since it would be a great embarrassment for a Chiriguano to appear in public without his tembeta (1).

1. If the Chiriguano were to be without his tembeta while asleep, saliva would run out, because the hole is rather large in most of them.

301 [326] [439] [177] The hollow-cane tembetas are made by every Chiriguano, while those of wood and tin are made by craftsmen. In spite of there not being any blacksmiths or tinsmiths among them and as neither tin or lead nor anything similar is available, the result is that the material for making them is brought from other parts, being bought from the whites, with whom they have maintained relations since the beginning of Tarija, out of which region the Chiriguano were expelled.

301 171 The Tembeta in Other Tribes

The use of the tembeta may be another argument for the unity of the human race; indubitably the Chiriguano use it as a tradition passed on from father to son, and thus successively up to our times. The tembeta is found in use by savage tribes almost throughout the world; in Africa the Noers /Nuer/ and

/244 cont./

252 262 Gourds are eaten boiled, roasted, and in broth; the seed is enjoyed when roasted with maize meal, parched maize, or beans. They also eat them as broth, which they call Gũindaca mi quira, or grease of the gourd, to which they add chili pepper and salt, just as they do with beans cooked in ollas with the whole pod, which they call Sopirigua.

241 If the Chiriguano manages to plant a little maize beans /poroto/, and gourds, he is content and stops planting other, less important seeds. Few plant Yeti, sweet potato, Mandiporopi, mandioca, Tacuaneé, sugar cane, and Monduvi, peanut. They all plant watermelons and other melons; many plant figs and tunas, or nopal, and few cultivate orange trees, because this Indian has little patience for waiting on the ingratitude of certain plants which require much care and are very slow in yielding fruit (2).

[192] [197] 2. Names for watermelon /sandía/ and melon /melón/ do not exist in the Chiriguano language, which indicates that these fruits were introduced by the whites, from whom the Indians got them.

222 245 262 The nopal is very abundant in this area, rising to some three or four meters; its fruit is very exquisite, as everyone knows. Its cultivation is nil; it is enough to pluck off a branch of the main plant and bury it halfway, and its sweet fruit will ripen from the second year on. It is the plant that the Chiriguano value most.

245 Even the fig tree, which also needs little care, is cultivated. They call it Iva, as well as calling the nopal Saini, and both plants seem to be native, because they grow in hot places, and the name indicates that they have always had them. The fig tree requires more cultivation than the nopal, but this is relatively insignificant; they pull off a branch, plant it during the rainy season, and let it grow fully without pulling off any shoots (3).

●439 3. Whites who live among the Indians are

/244 cont./

439 occupied in other, more lucrative trades; they rarely plant fig trees and nopal, and this benefits the Chiriguano, who sells both fruits, receiving money, meat, or charqui from the white man.

241 When any of this planting is done, all the desire of the Chiriguano is that it yield; he fervently beseeches the favor of heaven, /245/ or the sorcerers, masters or the rain, that there may not be a lack of the necessary moisture, and he, with his own hands, sees to it that the planting is quite free of all weeds.

## Use of the Ripe Produce

262
252 If the weather is favorable and the Indian has taken care of the planting, the reward of his little bit of sweat will not make him wait long. In exactly three months, or even before, he can already begin to savor Abatíqui, tender maize, which the mestizos call choclo. The first of these ears are eaten roasted and almost never boiled, because they say that prepared in the latter fashion they are tasteless. They go on to say that roasted choclo must be cooked only a little in order not to lose its ability to fatten, and if it is roasted under ashes with the whole husk, it is almost as sweet as sugar. How well, dear reader, do my Indians know what is good for the body, and how they know the way to get fat and what is most pleasing to the palate! They are good gourmets despite their poverty! It seems that they belong to the abdominals described by Father Saj.

When the choclo is somewhat more mature, they eat it with more pleasure, and then they also very nicely prepare Simbícuai, humitas/small cakes made of tender maize and sugar/. The method is very simple: instead of a knife or spoon to pull off the kernels, the young Chiriguano girl or old woman, pretty or ugly, with good teeth or bad ones, uses these instead of a mortar and pestle to grind it; it is done with the teeth very

5tNordenskiöld E-§¼(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chané SF8



plenty of fish in the Pilcomayo, there is a great trade in dried fish in that part of the country. The Indians tramp long distances in order to fish or get fish by barter.[1]) In places where the fish are so small that they rarely exceed the length of a finger, as in Rio Itiyuro, the fishing, done by women and children, still forms no small part of the diet of the people[2]). It is not surprising that the Chiriguano and Chané are eager fishermen, for no doubt both tribes come from well-watered tracts of the country where fish is abundant.

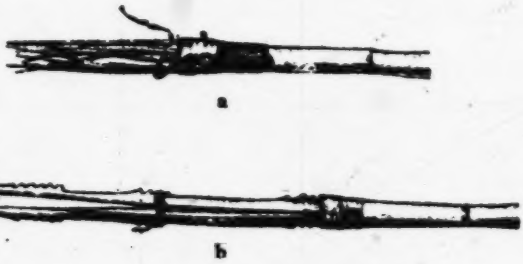

Fig. 15. Points of arrows for fishing. Chiriguano.
a = R. M. E. 618. 1/4; b = R. M. E. 627. 1/4.

[1]) Padre BERNARDINO DE NINO says, P. 231: »Del pescado es muy deseoso, mas no todas las tribus lo tienen cerca, éstas, cuando saben que en las orillas de los grandes rios hay en abundancia, caminan hasta ciento cincuenta kilómetros para hacer el cambalache: llevan maiz ó harina y la cambian por pescado.«

[2]) This is where they got their very clean habits and their eagerness to bath every day.

5:Nordenskiöld E-5/1(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8



Rio Paraguay after Garcias marauding expedition, not far from the tract where the Guató now live.

A potspade of the same type from the Yulämaua along the Rio Querary is shown in an illustration by KOCH-GRÜNBERG.[1]) I have not seen the shoulderblade potspade in any other tribe.

Similar spades, said to have been used for agricultural purposes, are mentioned by ST. CRICQ[2]) from the Conibo.

Nowadays the Chiriguano and Chané for the most part eat their food with metal spoons which they have got from the Whites. They have, however, wooden spoons as well. They generally eat from earthenware bowls of their own make. They seldom have wooden bowls. I have already treated of the distribution of the wooden bowl and the wooden spoon. (Part 1 map 12 and 13.) They are features of western civilization. Calabash bowls are universally used by the Chiriguano and Chané as drinking vessels, particularly for chicha.

Silver bowls — »Cagua» — are occasionally seen at the Chiriguano festivals. These bowls, which are shaped like cloven calabashes, are often furnished with small ears and are made by mestizo smiths to suit the Indian taste.

There is in my collection a calabash bowl that has been turned into a ladle by means of a handle. It is from the Chané at the Rio Itiyuro. I have also procured some bowls made of the fruit of the calabash tree from the Chiriguano. The Indians get them from Stª Cruz de la Sierra, for, as far as I know, the calabash-tree is not cultivated within their own area.

Fire-fans of plaited palm leaves are used, though they are rather uncommon. These fire-fans belong to the cultural elements which have come to the Chiriguano and the Chané from the north and east. Later on, when writing about the Indians in northeastern Bolivia, who have sev-

[1]) T. 2. P. 209.
[2]) P. 287

StNordenskiöld E-5,V(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chané SF8



C Ce 177 301 [439] [822] is conservative, which may partly be connected with the fact that for him, as KARSTEN has pointed out, colours and ornaments have a great magical importance. When the Chiriguano and Chané obtain by barter glass-beads for their labrets, these must be blue, like the turquoises they were wont to fasten in them.

C Ce 177 When they come across anything in the culture of the Whites that approximates to their own conception of the ideal, the Indians have no difficulty in adapting it to their own use. We know that the dance mask is an Indian practice: it is therefore quite natural for the Indians to have embraced the carnival of the Whites with great interest and have added to it their own dances, in which they appear with masks on.

### B. *The influence of the bronze age culture on that of the Chiriguano and Chané.*

C Ce [128] In the table 21 I have put together the cultural elements that the Chiriguano and Chané have very probably obtained from the culture zone in the west. We can see at a glance that this influence has been very considerable. The positive influence has been greater even than from the Whites.

If we look into the table we shall find that the Chiriguano and Chané have especially learnt from the culture zone in the west such things as are connected in some way with festivals. Here belong the men's festal attire, several adornments worn by men and women, the feather parasol, the finer sorts of pottery, the ornamentation of calabashes with pyrograving, several musical instruments, games, etc. C Ce [747] When we know with what interest the Indians have embraced the festivals of the Catholic Church, wherever they have had an opportunity of doing so, it can easily be understood that the tribes that were neighbours of the Incas, also imitated their festivals.

C /151 cont./
123 In Tihuipa I opened a regular /152/ small produce
439 store for a few days. Indian men and women, especially
the latter, crowded around the shop counter. It was a

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Fig. 76. Chané Indian.
Rio Parapiti.

C
123 peculiar shop. If an Indian woman came there with money
439 in order to buy something, she was politely sent away by
[439] the clerk, but if she came with an attractive old clay vessel,
she became the happy owner of corals, fire-red ribbons,

/152 cont./
earrings with real "diamonds," rings with "sapphires," or other fine things, which she could then show off at the next drinking bout. 123 439 437

There are always two villages in these mission stations, one for the heathens, one for the Christians. I myself always felt more comfortable in the former, and this not only because more fine, old things were to be collected there, but also because the people there were friendlier, more tactful, and more polite in their behavior. The mission children were importunate and impudent. 361 797

Near Machareti there is a large basin-shaped valley through which flows a little brook that probably swells to a roaring river after a violent tropical rain and disappears in the wilderness of the Chaco. Quite near the mission it leaves the handsomely dissected mountains, where small petroleum springs trickle out everywhere in the crevices of the cliffs. Then it flows through a hilly landscape that gradually turns into the vast flat area of the Chaco. The vegetation in these regions is not very luxuriant. The woodland, when such is present, is sparse, low, shrubby, and monotonous. The fields seem to produce abundant harvests, the droughts seldom too long. These regions are often devastated by huge swarms of locusts. I have seen these destructive animals cover the woodlands like large, reddish-brown clouds. 133 [135] 137 241 731 136

From Machareti we went by way of Itatiqui, a very interesting Chiriguano village in an arid region, to the Rio Parapiti. 114

The latter comes from Pomabamba and Sauzes, from the /153/ mountains of the Quichua /Quechua/ Indians. After it has left these, in the rainy season, it is a roaring stream overflowing its banks. In the dry season it carries little water. The Rio Parapiti also ends in the Chaco. During the rainy season it is lost in the swamps; in the dry season it disappears in the fine sand. If the Rio Parapiti parades on the maps, as the southernmost tributary of the Amazon River, this is only empty boasting on its part. The woodlands along the Rio Parapiti consist mostly of bushes and low, fine-leaved trees, caraguata, and cacti. 133 137

C
Ce
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/187 cont./ the Chiriguano and Chané have fewer horses, cows, donkeys, sheep, and goats than the Choroti and Ashluslay. On the other hand, they have more chickens and pigs. Sometimes one sees ducks, guinea fowl, and turkeys. In certain regions, as, for example, in the Caipipendi valley, where the Indians are wealthy, they also have much livestock. The whites, unfortunately, try in every way to cheat them out of what they have. Thus, it is not uncommon for a white man or a white woman to come into a village with a few kegs of spirits and to leave it with a couple of the best cows of the Indians. The whites are richer, the Indians poorer.

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[184]
[556]

Ee
● [439]

C
227

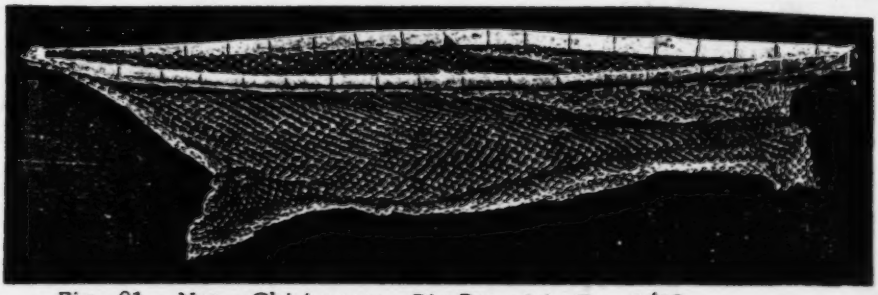

Fig. 91. Net. Chiriguano. Rio Parapiti. Ca. 1/12.

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Ce
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171

The menagerie of tamed wild animals which one sees in the villages of the more primitive Indians is not to be found among /188/ these Indians A parrot that talks a little Guarani, however, is not unusual in the huts.

## Preparation of Food

C
Ce
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The dirt that we come across in the preparation of food and eating among the Choroti and Ashluslay is not found /Fig. 92a appears here/ among the Chané and Chiriguano. On the other hand, the dishes are terribly monotonous. They consist of maize in every possible form, cooked maize, roasted maize, maize bread baked in ashes, maize flour porridge, and /189/ steamed maize flour. The latter is prepared in an apparatus illustrated here (Fig. 92).

Ee
[262]

/189 cont./

Meat is cooked with maize as a soup or roasted. Before it is placed in the pot, it is washed clean. Fish are roasted over the fire in clamps /Klammern/ or in maize leaves. The small fish which I saw prepared in this way are taken out only when they are eaten. If there are many fish, they are dried for future use.

Especially in times of famine, various /Fig. 92b appears here/ wild plants are also eaten. Salt, which is now bought from the whites, is used for food. In former times it was fetched from the rock-salt pits on the San Luis, on the way from the city of Tarija to the Chaco, or salt was made from saliferous earth, "yukiu." The earth mixed with salt was placed in a bowl of water, sank to the bottom, and the salt water was used.

Fig. 92a. Steaming apparatus. Chané. Rio Itiyuro.

Women and men eat separately. At home the men usually eat first and then the women and children. The Indians want to be left alone when they are eating. It is therefore extremely ill-mannered to speak to them during this important activity.

/190/ As far as I saw, they do not eat out of a common dish, but each one eats out of his bowl. After meals they rinse their mouths and wash their hands by spitting the rinse water over their fingers.

C Ce 252
Ce [251]
C Ce 263 317 [439] ●
C Ce 264
Ce [576]
Ce [415] [252]
Ce [415]

Ee /201 cont./

Ee 301 As for native ornaments, one sees necklaces of turquoise and chrysocolla beads and of black seeds.

Ee 301 172 [439] Ee [435] According to their own statements, the Indians find the stone beads in the ground where there are old dwellings and graves. The mestizos in the Tarija valley, who find a great many of these beads in their fields, sell them to the Chiriguano /202/ and Chané at high prices. In former times a necklace of these beads was paid for with a horse.

Ce 524

Fig. 105. Wax dolls. 1/1. Chané. Río Parapití.

Ee 302 The Chané and Chiriguano women wear the hair medium long, parted in the middle of the forehead, and sometimes tied at the nape of the neck or on the head with a band.

Ce 291 177 Ce 291 171 C 302 The men now all wear European attire. At /Fig. 107 appears here/ work, however, one not infrequently sees them in only a piece of fabric protecting the sexual parts. Among the Chané on the Río Parapití, coats resembling those with which we became familiar among the Choroti and Ashluslay were very common. The older men, as well as the younger ones in the Chiriguano villages on the upper Río Pilcomayo, wear the hair long, wound around the head, and held together, as a rule, with a red or blue band. Toward the front the hair is cut off; thus they have forelocks /203/ and a lock in front of each ear. The

6: Nordenskiöld--92 E-5 (1908-1909) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8



## Chapter Sixteen

## On the Life of the Chané and Chiriguano Indians (Continuation)

### Art and Industry

The Chiriguano and Chané are tribes whose art-industry is on a very high level. If one visit one of the huts of the white settlers in these regions, one will not see many products of native industry, not much of their own culture. I know of absolutely nothing that these people are capable of doing which can compare with the pottery and the weaving technique of the Indians. One thing is certain, the more "civilized" the Indians become, the less they accomplish in the way of art and industry. They do not learn much more from the whites than how to make and drink liquor. Indian art-industry is gradually disappearing here, the more the Indians come in contact with the whites, but it is not transformed. It remains largely purely Indian until its final destruction. One industry, however, is now in the hands of the whites, namely, the metal industry. The silver ornaments which, for example, the Chiriguano and Chané use are made by the smiths in the villages of the mountain regions. The half-white or Quichua /Quechua/ Indian population which we come across in the mountains west of the land of the Chiriguano and Chané Indians is quite skilled artistically. The weaving technique in particular is very highly developed there. The Chiriguano and Chané undoubtedly learned a great deal from the west.

Thus we find the serére pipe[1] (Fig. 120) characteristic of the Chiriguano in collections from the coast of Peru (1); /Plate

1. Serére also occur among the Lengua, Ashluslay, Chiriguano, Chané, Churápa, and Yuracáre.

16 appear here/ /243/ the pin for fastening women's clothing

[2] [A flute-like musical instrument -- Analyst]

[Text continues on p. 94]

Ce /244 cont./

28 Of the various industries, pottery stands particularly high
[323] among the Chiriguano and Chané (see the illustrations). They
[531] are also skilled weavers and decorators of calabashes. Basketry
[184] occurs, but chiefly in the northern part of their region. Feather
Ee work is no longer done at the present time. Only ropes and fish
[439] nets, and on the Rio Parapiti hammocks and carrying nets, are made with caraguata bast. The bags of this material, so characteristic of the Chaco tribes, are never made by the Chiriguano and Chané, but are occasionally acquired by trade between the tribes.

Ce 323 Among the Chané on the Rio Itiyuro I followed the making

C 415 531

Fig. 121. Clay vessel. Chiriguano. Caipipendi valley. 1/4.

Ce 323 of pots. The clay is ground and mixed with pounded, fired potsherds, so that the vessel does not fall apart during the firing. Ce The clay vessels are built up out of rolls in customary Indian [413] fashion. For smoothing a mussel shell or a maize cob without [804] kernels, as well as a narrow little bamboo stick, is used. The maize cobs make parallel, fine scratches (1). The bamboo stick

Ce [172]

1. From similar scratches on clay vessels which one finds in archaeological diggings, one can see that the makers of the clay vessels had maize. I have seen this, for

Ce /245 cont./
323 The coarser vessels, as well as all cooking vessels, are
531 decorated with only finger imprints and clay loops put on them.
ce The finer vessels are subsequently painted (see Pl. 19 /see p. 93/).
[237] /246/ With a brush made of agouti hairs (1) the decorations are
[413]

1. Dasyprocta.

Ce
[386] painted in white, dark brown, and black. The white pigment
is a kind of earth (kaolin); the others are made out of slate and
Ce sandstone. They paint freehand and compose the decorations from
323 memory, not from models. Wood, maize cobs, and cow excre-
ment are heaped around the vessel. The fuel is lighted and must
burn with a vigorous fire for a quarter of an hour or, if the vessel
Ce is large, even longer (Fig. 122).
[314] If the vessel has been painted, it is varnished with resin,
[824] "taraviruti," which is collected from a Mimosoideae, and with
resin from the palo santo (see p. 93 /untranslated; Palosanto is
identified there as Bulnesia Sarmienti/). The former gives a
yellowish polish; the latter looks like greenish-black glaze.
Ce When a pot is made, it is baptized before it has cooled,
[789] so that water will boil rapidly in it.
C In Maringay's village individual vessels were painted
531 with a mixture of urucú or some other color and a vegetable fat.
323 I was unable to see how this latter was prepared.
386 The Chiriguano and Chané women are skillful weavers.
Ee The material for the Indian weaving is, as a rule, cotton and
286 sometimes sheep wool.
Ee Since large quantities of cloth are imported by the whites,
● [439] native weaving is disappearing more and more. Thus, I did
[177] not see any looms among the Chané in the Itiyuro valley, and
native woven goods were very rare.
Ee As a rule, all the weaving of these Indians is without
286 ornamentation, or else this is very simple. The girls in the
531 missions learn from the monks how to embroider all kinds of
[797] flowers, such as roses, violets, etc. They do this superbly.

Ea /247 cont./

The Chiriguano and Chané men are clever in the decoration of calabashes (Fig. 128), carve attractive pipes (Fig. 120), and know how to tan leather, which they probably learned from the whites.

Among these Indians one does not see much in the way of plastic representations of animal and human figures. The clay /248/ vessels sometimes have animal shapes. The Chané women on the Río Parapití fashioned lumpy little dolls out of wax for their children (Fig. 105). Some of the clay vessels are painted with animal figures. A vessel from the Río

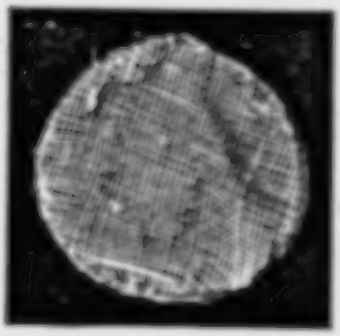

Fig. 124.
Sieve. Río Parapití.
1/8.

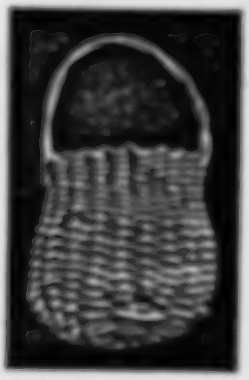

Fig. 125. Basket
Chiriguano.
Caipipendi. 1/8.

Itiyuro, which I acquired through barter, is adorned with tree figures. Occasionally one sees clay vessels in the shape of fruits.

I saw drawings representing human beings and animals on the walls in a few Chané huts and on a few Chiriguano calabashes from the Caipipendi valley.

As for basket work, the sieves are so popular among the whites that through trade they are being distributed far beyond the Chiriguano and Chané region. Otherwise the Chané and Chiriguano make few baskets. We find basket work in question only among the Indians where the marching-leaved palms begin, and that is at Santa Cruz de la Sierra.

G: Notebooks\Bk--100 E-5 (1908-1909) 1912 SP10 Chiriguano SP10
Chane SP 8

Ea /249 cont./

439 When we present a collection from the Chiriguano and Chané,
177 we must not forget that, through trade between the tribes, they have obtained many things from the Matacо, Toba, Choroti, and Tapiete; otherwise we would have a mistaken conception of the
Ea great difference /249/ between the material culture of the Chaco
171 tribes named here and the Chiriguano and Chané.

Ea If we compare the material culture of the Choroti and Chané
[285] with that of the Choroti and Ashluslay likewise described here, we must remember the following. The Chiriguano and Chané produce basket work -- the
C Choroti and Ashluslay never.
Ea The former know how to paint
[323] clay vessels before firing, which is unknown to the latter.
Ea The Chiriguano and Chané
[245] never make bags out of
C
[415] →
[531]

Fig. 125.
Decorated calabash bowl.
Chiriguano. Tarcuiba. 1/5.

caraguata, etc. If, moreover, we compare all the products made by the Chané and Chiriguano with those of the Choroti and Ashluslay, we find that most of them are entirely differ-
C ent. The Chaco Indians probably learned how to make certain
[177] things, such as the sombre (Fig. 120) and huiramimbi pipes (Fig. 36 /omitted in the translation/ and 80), from the Chiriguano,
Ea but this is relatively insignificant.
177 We see here how two cultures can exist side by side for hundreds of years without mingling.

Ea If we follow the Rio Pilcomayo down toward the mountains,
101 we first come across the Quichua /Quechua/ culture, then come the Chiriguano and Chané, and after that the Chaquenic /Chaco/ culture which embraces equally the Matacо, Toba, Choroti, and Ashluslay, as well as the Lengua and other tribes in the Paraguay Chaco. These three cultures are entirely different.

T:Rosen E-5 (1901-1902) 1924 SF10 Chiriguano SF10



301
174
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(302)

other inconvenient hair-growth, and which are still in use among the Chiriguano.[1]

I have noted a circumstance, previously unheeded, that, in my opinion, gives considerable weight to Nordenskiöld's theory as to the true Indian origin of the boivéra ornament. All breast ornaments of this kind have in their upper part a tubular horizontal perforation, open at both ends. In the middle of this barrel, and through the top, there is a hole. Through this barrel and upper hole is run the cord by which the ornament is worn round the neck (fig. 199). This rather peculiar arrangement for fixing the cord on which the ornament is hung, is found in the majority of such ancient Indian hanging ornaments, whistles and flutes of stone, as were meant to be worn a string. As an example, the remarkable ancient Indian stone flute, found in the earth in the vicinity of Iruya,[2] has at one end been bored through (fig. 200) in a manner exactly corresponding to the arrangement for the cord in the boivéra. This cord-fixing adaptation does not, to my knowledge, occur in any European object. For this reason it may surely be considered as very probable, not only that the original use of the boivéra as a pair of tweezers is of Indian origin, but also that the idea of carrying the tweezers on a string round the neck is Indian, and consequently has not originated from those more or less »white» jewellers that nowadays manufacture boivéra ornaments, and sell them to the Indians. I have in another book depicted a fragment of a small, pre-Spanish, ornamented bronze tweezers, which, like the boivéra, has a circular perforation at its upper end,[3] indicating that those tweezers, too, were worn on a cord, and consequently also in all likelihood served as a breast ornament.

[534]
[172]

Fig. 199. Two-type of stone. Ground-leaf from Iruya, Bolivia. ½. The dotted line marks the hole for fastening a string in the same way as for the breast ornament, fig. 198.

[439]

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[1] Nordenskiöld (II), pp. 81—83, 90 and 94.
[2] von Rosen (II), pp. 147 and 148.
[3] von Rosen (II), fig. 211.

231 /18 cont./ With
262 respect to the eating of meat, the Chiriguano depend on their livestock, which, however, according to Nordenskiöld, since they omit the raising of pigs and chickens, is not so numerous as the livestock of the Chorote and the Churupí. They do not
262 241 eat the flesh of asses, horses, /19/ and dogs (78). Although

78. Nord. 1, p. 190.

we do not have exact data on the amount of meat that their livestock yields, we can suppose that it is not very great, and thus these Indians depend principally on vegetable foods, that is, on the products of their agriculture. We should say that, in comparison with maize, all other foodstuffs have almost no importance, except among the Indians of the Parapití, among whom the sweet potato is the most important food (79).

79. Nord. 1, p. 181.

261 In times of shortage they eat various wild plants, principally
273 the sweet pods of the algarroba (November-December), which, coarsely chopped up with water, they allow to ferment in order to produce a kind of chicha which has inebriating qualities (80).

80. Nord. 1, p. 236. Métraux I, pp. 361 and 362.

262 Since meals consist principally of maize, they are very
252 monotonous, although the maize is eaten by them in many different forms, either boiled or parched, or as a flour cooked in steam, as a fried maize-cake, in embers /rescoldo/, or as a soft maize-pudding (81). Meat is eaten roasted or boiled,

81. Nord. 1, pp. 188 and 189. Métraux I, pp. 356-358.

263 together with maize. Cooking salt is used at meals. While
310 previously salt (dyũki) was obtained from mines or extracted
439 from earth from salt licks /barreros/, today it is obtained

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/19 cont./
from the whites (82).

82. Nord. 1, p. 189. Métraux I, pp. 359 and 360.

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[312]

Among beverages, besides water, which is scarce in certain regions, chicha (ka'ui) made of maize, potatoes, or algarrobo deserves mention (83). Chicha made from yellow

83. Nord. 1, pp. 234 and 236. Métraux I, pp. 364 and 365.

Ce
[273]

or white maize is preferred. The chicha from potatoes by the Chané of the Parapití River is considered inferior.

C
Ce
264
415

The Chiriguano and Chané ordinarily do not eat from a common pot, but separately and from dishes. Because of this their houses contain many dishes, which are normally made of baked clay (nyá'e), but may also be of wood (sua) (84).

84. Cf. Nord. 1, p. 190.

C
Ce
415
[126]

I collected various baked clay dishes among the Chiriguano and Chané (cf. Figs. 78-80 /see p. 143/), as well as two wooden dishes, two examples of which the Museum already had, donated by Doña María F. de Casati. I shall deal with the baked clay dishes, along with the other baked clay vessels, in the chapter on pottery, and therefore enumerate here only the wooden plates in the collection.

C
415

Wooden Dishes (sua) of the Chiriguano

I. A. 351. (Gift of Doña María F. de Casati.) Diam. 21 cm. Ht. 6 cm.
I. A. 352. ( " ) " 15.5 cm. " 3.5 cm.
I. A. 496. (Max Schmidt trip.) Diam. 23 cm. Ht. 6 cm. (Fig. 18).
I. A. 497. ( " " " ) " 30 cm. " 6.5 cm. (Fig. 18a).

/19 cont./

C 415 As Figure 18, a and b, shows, these wooden dishes have two handles on the rim.

C Ce 412 [177] [439] As an eating utensil the Chiriguano and Chané today use metal spoons which are acquired from the whites. But they also use wooden spoons (85).

85. Nord. 2, p. 56. Nordenskiöld, Erland: Vergleichende ethnographische Forschungen I. Eine Geographische und ethnographische Analyse der materiellen Kultur zweier Indianerstämme in el Gran Chaco /Comparative Ethnographic Investigation I. A Geographic and Ethnographic Analysis of the Material Culture of Two Indian Tribes in the Gran Chaco/, Göteborg, 1918, p. 93. (Cited in what follows: Nord. 3.) Métraux I, pp. 364, 374-376, and Figs. 42 and 43.

C Ce [113]

C 412 /20/ Wooden Spoons (kuruha) of the Chiriguano

I. A. 353. (Gift of Doña María F. de Casati.) Length 36 cm.
I. A. 498. (Max Schmidt trip.) Length 42.5 cm. (Fig. 20).
I. A. 499. ( " " " ) Length 16 cm. (Fig. 22).

C [171] As Figures 20 and 22 show, there are variations in the shape of these wooden spoons. The shape of spoon I. A. 499 is almost exactly like the Chané spoon shown in a drawing by Nordenskiöld (86), while the shape of spoon I. A. 498 is very

86. Nord. 3, p. 93. Fig. 24 F.

similar to the spoons found in the ancient burials of the Peruvian highland, their front part and handle forming a rather straight line.

8: Schmidt--69 E-5 (1935) 1938 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chané SF8

/27 cont./

Men's Hair Bands Woven out of Human Hair

These bands woven out of human hair correspond, with regard to their manufacture, to the bands that the Chiriguano and Chané make today in great numbers to sell to the whites. These "fajas," as they are commonly called today, represent an article eagerly sought by the whites who are in contact with these Indians, and especially by the soldiers, who wear them as a belt. One of the two Chiriguano men shown in Figure 6 wears such a faja as a belt, and, because we can surmise that today this is their principal use among the Chiriguano as well, we shall deal with them in the following chapter devoted to the description of clothing.

Straw Hat (kandáo of the Chiriguano

I. A. 554. Diameter 30 cm. Height 12 cm. (Fig. 99.)

The technique of this hat plaited out of palm-leaf fibers is not native since it is of modern manufacture. As Figure 9 shows, the Izozó men also wear such hats.

Caps Made with Crochet Hooks

I. A. 442 and 443. (Chiriguano.) Made of Wool. Height 15.5 cm. and 14 cm., resp.

These two crocheted wool caps, which I obtained from the Chiriguano in Machareti, must also be considered as of modern manufacture.

/29 cont./

301 [439] European museums. These are not made by the Chiriguano themselves, but by their mestizo neighbors and sold to the Indians. The external form is still that of tweezers, much enlarged. But the boivera of today, discounting its size, also cannot be used for plucking hair because the two parts /30/ of its lower edge have been soldered. The fact that the decoration of the surface is not still primordial is explained by the fact that the Chiriguano are not the makers of these ornaments.

291 Clothing and Adornment

From the 16th century we have the brief description of the Chiriguano by Bishop Lizarraga (133) where, among other

[113] 133. Lizarraga: "Descripción et población de las Indias /Description and population of the Indies/." In Moreno II, p. 101.

things, it is said: "They go about naked or at the most sometimes have a short shirt /camisatilla/ down to the navel." We 174 291 can assume that this statement by the Bishop as of that time refers only to the Chiriguano men, because it is likely that by the time of their immigration the Chiriguano women were wearing a garment which covered their genital organs, as we know the Guaraní women of the ancient Province of Uruguay [191] did (134). It is likely that this garment had the same form as

134. Serrano, op. cit., pp. 123 and 124.

the "tipoy," which is a garment in the form of a poncho without sewing and which even today is very common among Chiriguano and Chané women, as well as among various other Indian tribes of South America.

Chane SF8
Izozo

/30 cont./

C Ce 291 [439] [126]

The poncho is a garment in common use even today among Chiriguano and Chané men and boys during the cold season. Figure 17 shows a Chiriguano boy wearing a poncho. Because ponchos today, like the fajas, are an article eagerly sought by the whites and are often made to be sold commercially, I tried to collect only ponchos worn by the Indians themselves.

C Ce 291 126

/31/ Ponchos (asó'ia) in the Collection

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| I. A. 423. | (Chiriguano.) | Of wool. | Length 1.45 m. | Width 1.14 m. | |
| I. A. 424. | " | " " | 1.70 m. | " 1.46 m. | |
| I. A. 425. | " | " " | 1.65 m. | " 1.32 m. | |
| I. A. 426. | " | " " | 1.68 m. | " 1.39 m. | (Fig. 117.) |
| I. A. 427. | " | Of cotton. | 1.36 m. | " 1.95 m. | |
| I. A. 808. | (Izozó) | Of cotton. | 1.46 m. | " 1.35 m. | |
| I. A. 809. | " | Of wool. " | 1.42 m. | " 1.09 m. | |
| I. A. 110 | " | " " | 1.62 m. | " 1.38 m. | |
| I. A. 812 | " | " " | 1.16 m. | " 1.17 m. | |
| I. A. 813. | " | " " | 1.16 m. | " 0.78 m. | |
| I. A. 814. | " | " " | 1.36 m. | " 0.68 m. | |
| I. A. 815. | " | " " | 1.28 m. | " 0.64 m. | |
| I. A. 819. | " | Of cotton. | 1.26 m. | " 1.10 m. | |
| I. A. 823. | " | Of wool. " | 1.40 m. | " 1.30 m. | (Fig. 116.) |
| I. A. 825. | " | " " | 1.50 m. | " 1.22 m. | |
| I. A. 830. | " | " " | 1.40 m. | " 0.97 m. | |
| I. A. 833. | " | Of cotton. | 1.56 m. | " 1.25 m. | |
| I. A. 834. | " | " " | 1.26 m. | " 0.93 m. | |
| I. A. 835. | " | " " | 1.42 m. | " 1.21 m. | |
| I. A. 836. | " | " " | 1.08 m. | " 0.71 m. | |
| I. A. 837. | " | " " | 0.96 m. | " 0.78 m. | |

C Ce 291

In order to explain the above-mentioned measurements we must say that the measurements of length refer to the entire length of the poncho when stretched out. As Figure 17 shows, the poncho is used in such a way that the slit, being in its center,

/39 cont./

Cc 231 Tamed wild animals are rarely found inside their houses, except that they do have some parrots (182) /see footnote 182 above/.

## Hunting

C Cc 224 [433] [411] [439] We have explained before that, because of the lack of animals that can be eaten in the territory of the Chiriguano and Chané, hunting is secondary among their means of subsistence, and in accordance with this we know through old documents that the feathers for their arrows were introduced to the Chiriguano by other Indian tribes who were their tributaries (183). The raising of domestic livestock gives them a

C Ce [231]

183. Moreno II, 121.

C 224 greater opportunity to obtain animal foodstuffs. In accordance with the fact that the Chiriguano, at least today, are not first-class hunters, the most common method of hunting among them is the use of traps (184). Nordenskiöld describes three

C 223

184. V. Rosen, op. cit., p. 205.

different kinds of traps, all three of which are used for catching birds (185). The first kind consists of a simple noose and is used

185. Nord. 2, pp. 32, 33, and 85, Fig. 10, 12, and 13.

C [171] with the help of calls. The second kind, which is common among various other tribes of Indians, is used, for example, also by the Kaingua /Caingua/. The third kind consists of a net made Ce in two parts and fixed to the ground by means of stakes. In one [903] [223] of the Chané legends recorded by Nordenskiöld, a trap for catching doves is mentioned (186).

186. Nord. 1, p. 279.

C
Ce
226
[439
171]

/44 cont./The also fish with hooks, which today they obtain from the whites. But it may be that the hook is an implement of their ancient culture (208). In

208. Nord. 2, p. 44.

addition, they fish by means of deep nets like those of the neighboring Chaco tribes, such as the Chorote, the Churupí, the Matako, and the Toba (209). They also fish with arrows

209. Nord. 2, p. 43. Métraux I, p. 350, Fig. 80.

and formerly with spears with two points. On his trip in 1901-1902, v. Rosen acquired one specimen of these spears from the Chiriguano, which he has described and shown in a sketch (210).

210. V. Rosen, op. cit., p. 214 and Fig. 216.

C
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411

Among the Chiriguano and Chané arrows specifically for fishing, we must distinguish two different kinds, one for larger fish, with two dentate wooden points (211), and the other for

211. Nord. 2, Fig. 15b. V. Rosen, op. cit., Figs. 213 and 214.

small fish, provided at the upper end of the shaft with a large number of cactus spines (212).

212. Nord. 2, Fig. 15a.

/44 cont./

Acquisition of Raw Material of Inorganic Origin

Because it was the rich treasures of the Incas and of the bordering lands, especially their wealth in gold and silver, which stimulated the Chiriguano to immigrate into the regions bordering this empire, the question is posed as to whether the Chiriguano took part in the exploitation of the land for that purpose. We know of their battles with Guacane and his brother Condori because of the rich mines of Maypurún, and we know that the Chiriguano possessed these mines for some time and that on this occasion they took great quantities of gold and silver. But in those battles they captured Condori in person, and he was the owner of the mines, and they kept him no doubt to work the mines for them. Furthermore, their power over the region of the mines lasted a short time, because they were thrown back by the cacique Grigota /45/ as far as the eastern spurs of the Andes. We have no information that in their new land they had any opportunity to extract gold and silver from the earth, or that they themselves ever worked these metals in any major way. Today they have their silver ornaments made by the mestizos or the whites of their region, except for the single fact that the Chiriguano sometimes made their tembetás of tin.

Through the description of their tembetás and necklaces, we know that the Chiriguano have some semiprecious stones. As Nordenskiöld relates (213), they, according to their own

213. Nord. 1, p. 209.

statements, find the turquoise and chrysocolla beads on the ground where there had been houses or where ancient tombs are located.

While salt today is obtained from the whites, it was formerly extracted from the land, either in the form of rock salt, which they got from mines near San Luis, or in the form of salt water which they obtained by treating with water

8: Schmidt--136 E-5 (1935) 1938 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8
Izozo

C 764 415

/53 cont./ described by him there is one which is 92 cm. high and has an aperture at the top 70 cm. in diameter. Another is 110 cm. high and its maximum diameter measures 85 cm. In 1845, in Capirendá, Wedell found such vessels with a height of 120 cm. and a maximum diameter of 100 cm. for the wall of the belly.

C 415 126

### 13. Various Vessels with No Indication Regarding Their Purpose, from the Collection

I. A. 410 (Chirig.). Ht. 14.5 cm. Max. dia. 8 cm. Apert. 5 cm. (Fig. 81b).
I. A. 411 ( " ). Ht. 13.5 cm. Length 21 cm. (Fig. 81a).
Ce 415 126 I. A. 597 (Izozó). " 10.5 cm. Max. dia. 16.7 cm. Apert. 15 cm. (Fig. 72).
I. A. 599 ( " ) " 9 cm. " " 13 cm. " 10 cm. (Fig. 70a).

C Ce 415 177

We have no evidence regarding the purpose of these four vessels which are different in form from the other types of vessels. We must regard the small, double vessel I. A. 411 (cf. Fig. 81a /see p. 144/) as a special result of the mixture of various, but different cultural elements. The way in which the two small dishes are joined to form a double vessel /54/ corresponds to ancient Peruvian models, while the form of the handle, fitted with a ring, is doubtless an addition of European origin. The whole has the form of a salt cellar and was perhaps made to be sold to the whites for this purpose. We must also consider the vessel I. A. 410 (cf. Fig. 81b /see p. 144/) as merchandise, while the two vessels I. A. 597 and 599 seem to be manufactured for some use in festivities.

C Ce [439]

C Ca 283 323

### Baked Clay Spindle Whorls

The spindle whorls collected among the Chiriguano and Izozó are of baked clay or wood, and the Chiriguano also have some spindles with stone whorls. Because I shall deal with spindle whorls in the chapter on spinning, I wish only to

Ce 323 824 386 /56 cont./ paint on the rim, which is done with the resin of the palo santo (Bulnesia sarmienti), which is spread over the surface of the vessel after it has been baked (253).

253. Nord. 1, p. 246. Nord. 2, p. 144. Métraux I, pp. 386 and 387.

## Working of Stone and Metals

Ce 324 The manufacture of stone implements is not done among the Chiriguano and Chané. The same can be said with respect to Ce 325 301 439 197 41 the manufacture of metal implements, except that the Chiriguano sometimes make their tembetá of tin themselves (254), while they ordinarily obain their metal ornaments and implements from the mestizos and the whites.

254. Nord. 2, p. 171.

## Woodworking

C 322 [41] Various objects made out of wood by the Chiriguano have already been mentioned above, such as house posts, ladders, plates, spoons, pipes, bows, arrow points, and also cuyas /vessels made out of gourd/ and calabashes. Among other objects made of wood we must also mention the mortar and pestle, various implements used in weaving, small sticks for making nets, large dishes used for keeping food, and flutes. Because the Chiriguano, C [197] [198] when they work wood today, exclusively use modern tools obtained from the whites, they have not retained any of their native technique. /Plates XXII-XXV appear here./